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THE NATIONAL ERA.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

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G. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

WASHINGTON, D. C.

From Dickens's Household Words.

A QUEEN'S REVENGE.

The name of Gustavus Adolphus, the faithful Protestant, the great General, and the great King of Sweden, has been long since rendered familiar to readers of history. We all know how this renowned warrior and monarch was beloved by his own subjects, how he fought successfully he fought through a long and fearful war, and how nobly he died on the field of battle. With his death, however, the interest of the English reader in Swedish affairs seems to terminate. Those who have followed the narrative of his life carefully to the end may remember that he left behind him a beautiful child—a daughter named Christina; but of this character of this child, and of her extraordinary adventures after she grew to womanhood, the public has, up to the present day, been singularly ignorant. In the popular historical and romantic literature of France, Queen Christina is a prominent and favorite character. In the literature of this country, she has hitherto been allowed but little chance of making her way to the notice of the world at large.

And yet, the life of this girl is in itself a romance. At six years old, she was Queen of Sweden, with the famous Oxenstiern for guardian. This great and good man governed the Kingdom in the name and with the full power through her minority. Four years after her coronation, she of her own accord abdicated her right to the throne, and left Sweden for Italy. Young and beautiful, the most learned and most accomplished woman of her time, she resolutely turned her back on the throne of her inheritance, on the splendid prospect of wealth of the empty pomp and irksome restraint of royalty, set forth to wander through civilized Europe in the character of an independent traveller, and resolved to see all that was worthy of men and manners, to collect all the knowledge which the widest experience could give her, and to associate with the most distinguished the greatest minds of the age wherever she went. So far, the interest excited by her character and her adventures is of the most picturesque and romantic description. But the story thickingly new in the spectacle of a young Queen who prefers the pursuit of knowledge to the possession of power, and who betrays a royal birthright for the privilege of being free. Unhappily, the portrait of Christina cannot be painted throughout in bright colors and in flattering tones. Her conduct, after that, when her travels brought her to Rome, she abandoned the religion for which her father fought and died. It is still less agreeable to add, that, in the whole course of her existence, besides the restraint of royalty, and that, if she was mentally distinguished by her capacities, she was also morally disgraced by her vices and her crimes.

The events in the strange life of Christina—especially those which are connected with her actions and character in Rome—are powerful Queen-errant—present the freshest and the most ample materials for a biography, which might be regarded in England as a new contribution to the literature of the day. Some of the necessarily limited space at our command in these columns, it is impossible to follow her, with sufficient attention to details, through the adventurous career attended by such a wandering career. One, however, among the many strange and startling passages in her life may profitably be introduced to the reader. It is a passage which the narrative is composed throw light, in many ways, on the manners, habits, and opinions, of a past age, and ther can, moreover, be presented in the form of a story complete in itself, eye-witness, who beheld them two centuries ago.

The scene is in Paris; the time is the close of the year 1657; the principal actors in the seven persons are the wandering Queen Christina, her grand equerry, the Marquis Monaldeschi, and Father Le Bel of the Convent of Fontainebleau, in whose house this memorable event was shortly about to cite.

Monaldeschi, as his name implies, was an Italian by birth. He was a handsome, accomplished cavalier, possessing considerable ability in his disposition, and possessed of the art of making himself eminently agreeable to the society of women. Under these favorable circumstances, he soon won his way to the favor of Queen Christina. Out of the long list of her lovers, not one of the many whom she encouraged ascended to the throne from a habit of precious fancy as Monaldeschi. The intimacy between them probably took its rise, on her side at least, in a deep sincerity of affection as it was in Christina's nature to feel. On the side of the Italian, the connection was prompted solely by ambition. As soon as he had risen to the favor of his royal mistress, and made use of the position of chief favorite in the Queen's Court, he wearied of his royal mistress, and addressed his attentions secretly to a young Roman lady named Ana Maria, who completely attracted him, and whose fatal influence over his actions ultimately led to his ruin and his death.

After endeavoring to ingratiate himself with the Roman lady, in various ways, Monaldeschi found that the surest means of winning her favor lay in enlarging on the flattering opinion on the subject of the private life and the secret frailties of Queen Christina. He was not a man who was troubled by any scrupulous feelings of honor in the choice of the means of intrigue happened to be concerned; and he shamelessly took advantage of the position that he occupied at Court to form a habit of the branches of confidence of the most inexcusably ungrateful and the most meanly infamous kind. He gave to the Roman lady the service of the Queen's letters, and the secret knowledge of secrets that she had revealed to him in the fullest confidence of his worthiness to be trusted; more than this, he betrayed the faith of his own to the new object of his addresses, in which he ridiculed the Queen's fondness for him, and sarcastically described her smallest personal defects with a heartless effrontery which the most patient and long-suffering of women would have found it impossible to forgive. While he was thus privately betraying the confidence that had been reposed in him, he was affecting to display the most unalterable attachment and the most sincere respect for the Queen.

For some time, this unsuccessful deception proceeded successfully. But the hour of the discovery was appointed, and the instrument of effecting it was a certain Cardinal who was desirous of obtaining the Monaldeschi for the Queen's favor. The priest contrived to get possession of the whole correspondence which had been secretly placed in the hands of the Roman lady, including, besides Christina's letters, the letters which Monaldeschi had written in ridicule of his royal mistress. The whole collection in a portfolio was enclosed by the Cardinal in one packet, and was presented by him, at a private audience, to the Queen.

It is at this critical point of the story that the testimony of the eye-witness whom we propose to quote, begins. Father Le Bel was present at the fearful execution of the Queen's vengeance, and has left behind him a work furnished with copies of the whole correspondence which had been abstracted from the possession of the Roman lady. Having been trusted with the secret, he is enabled to furnish us with information out his narrative on the subject of Monaldeschi's character. Particulars of the Italian's baseness and ingratitude we have been presented. We have likewise gathered from a somewhat contradictory reports which were current at the time, and which have been preserved by the old Chronicles, materials for the following notes. Such further details of the extraordinary punishment of Monaldeschi's offence as are now to follow, may be given in the words of Father Le Bel himself. The reader will understand that his narrative begins immediately after Christina's discovery of the perfidy of her favorite.

The 6th of November, 1657, (writes Father Le Bel,) at a quarter past nine in the morning, Queen Christina of Sweden, being at that time lodged in the house of the Sieur Rohaut, commissioned one of her men-servants to my convent, to obtain an interview with me. The messenger on being admitted to my presence, inquired if I was the superior of the convent; and when I replied in the affirmative, informed me that I was expected to present myself immediately before the Queen of Sweden.

Fearful of keeping her Majesty waiting, I followed the man at once to the palace, without waiting to take any of my brethren from the house with me. After a little delay in the antechamber, I was shown into the Queen's room. She was alone; and I saw, by the expression of her face, as I reverently bespoke her acquaintance with her commands, that something was wrong. She hesitated for a moment; then told me, rather sharply, to follow her to a place where I could speak with certainty of not being overheard. She led me into the Galerie des Cerfs, and, turning round on me suddenly, asked if we had ever met before. I replied that we had not. She said that once had the honor of presenting my respects to her, that she had received me graciously, and that there the interview had ended. She nodded her head, and looked about her a little, then said, very abruptly, that I wore a dress (referring to my convent costume) which encouraged her to put in my hands in my keeping what she desired me to promise beforehand that I would keep the secret with which she was about to entrust me, as strictly as if I had taken an oath. I answered, respectfully, that it was part of my sacred profession to be trusted with secrets; that I had never betrayed the private affairs which had been confided to my keeping, and that I looked for my reward in the honored by the confidence of a Queen.

Upon this, her Majesty handed me a packet of paper tied up with three places, but having no superscription of any sort. She ordered me to keep it under lock and key, and to be prepared to give it her when she should ask for it again in whose presence she might see fit to ask me for it. She further charged me to remember the day, the hour, and the place, in which she had spoken to me, and to deal with that last piece of advice, she dismissed me. I left her alone in the gallery, walking slowly away from me, with her head drooping on her bosom, and her hands clasped before her.

"Go to the Queen!" cried the Marquis, kneeling before me with clasped hands. "Go to her to receive absolution! Make your peace with Heaven. Prepare yourself to die!"

"There is no hope for you," he said, address Monaldeschi. "Make your peace with Heaven. Prepare yourself to die!"

"Will you wait till I come back?" I said to the three men.

"We will wait," they answered, and lowered their swords respectfully as I spoke.

I found the Queen alone in her room, without the slightest appearance of agitation in her face or her manner. Nothing that I could see in her looks or gestures gave me any hope for her, by all that religion holds most sacred, to remember that the noblest privilege of any sovereign is the power of granting pardon, and that the first of Christian duties is the duty of forgiving. She heard me unmoved. Seeing that entreaties were thrown away, I ventured, after a little hesitation, to remind her gently that she was not living now in her own kingdom of Sweden, but that she was the guest of the King of France, and lodged in one of his palaces; and I added, boldly asked her if she had calculated the possible consequences of authorizing the killing of one of her attendants in her own house, without the slightest form of preliminary form of trial, or any official notification of the offence he had committed. She answered me coldly, that it was enough that she was the sole competent judge of the offence of which Monaldeschi had been guilty; that she stood in a perfectly independent position from the King of France; that she was absolute mistress of her own actions, and of those of her and in all places; and that she was accountable to nobody under Heaven for her conduct in the matter but herself. She could not violate lives and liberties she possessed sovereign rights, which no consideration whatever should induce her to resign.

I felt the necessity of irritating her, I still ventured on reiterating my remonstrances. She cut them short by hastily signing to me to leave her room. I was obeyed—she asked him, with the same stern look and the same steady expression of face, if he had read the papers and documents which he had just been reading. The Marquis turned deadly pale, and answered, that he had now read the papers referred to for the first time.

"Do you deny all knowledge of them?" said the Queen. "Answer me plainly, sir. Yes or no?"

The Marquis turned paler still. "I deny all knowledge of them," he said, in faint tones, with his eyes on the ground.

"You deny all knowledge of these, too?" said the Queen, suddenly producing a second packet of manuscript from under her dress, and thrusting it in the Marquis's face.

He started, drew a little, and answered not a word. The packet which the Queen had given to me contained copies only. The originals were those which she had just thrust in the Marquis's face.

"Do you deny your own seal and your own handwriting?" she asked.

He looked at the words, acknowledging both the seal and the handwriting to be his own, and added some phrases of excuse, in which he endeavored to cast the blame of what attached to the writing of the letters on the shoulders of other persons. While he was speaking, the three men in attendance on the room entered from the gallery.

Her Majesty heard him to the end. "You are a traitor," she said, and turned her back on him.

The three men, as she spoke those words, drew their swords.

The Marquis heard the clash of the blades against the floor, looked wildly round, quickly round, saw the drawn swords behind him. He caught the Queen by the arm immediately, and drew her away with him, first into one corner of the gallery, then into another, entreating her in the most moving terms to listen to him, and to believe in the sincerity of his repentance. The Queen let him go on talking, without showing the slightest sign of relenting in her face. Her color never changed; the stern look never left her countenance. There was something terrible in her calm, cold, immovable silence, which her eyes expressed while they rested on the Marquis's face.

At last she shook herself free from his grasp, still without uttering one word. Monaldeschi, The three men with the drawn swords, who had followed the Marquis silently as he led the Queen from corner to corner of the gallery, now closed round him again, and the Queen left standing alone. There was perfect silence for a minute or more. Then the Queen addressed herself to me.

"Father," she said, I charge you to bear witness that I treat this man with the strictest impartiality." She pointed, while she spoke, to the packet of manuscript which she carried in her hand. "I offer that worthless traitor all the time he requires—more than he has any right to ask for—to justify himself if he can."

The Marquis, hearing these words, took some letters from a place of concealment in his dress, and gave them to the Queen, along with a small bunch of keys. He snatched these last from his pocket so quickly, that he drew out with them a few small silver coins, which fell to the floor. As he addressed himself to the Queen again, she made a sign with her ebony riding-whip to the men with the drawn swords; and they retired towards one of the windows of the gallery, I, on my side, withdrew out of hearing. The conference which ensued between the Queen and the Marquis lasted nearly an hour. When it was over, her Majesty beckoned me with her hand again with the whip, and then approached the place where I was standing.

"Father," she said, in her clear, ringing, resolute tones, "there is no need for me to remain here any longer. I leave that man," she pointed to the Marquis again, "to your care. Do all that you can for the good of his soul. He has failed to justify himself, and I doom him to die."

If I had heard sentence pronounced against myself, I could hardly have been more terrified than I was when the Queen uttered these last words. The Marquis heard them where he was standing, and flung himself at her feet. I dropped on my knees by his side, and entreated her to pardon him, or at least to visit his offence with some milder punishment than the punishment of death.

"I have said the words," she answered, addressing herself only to me; "and no power on earth shall make me unsay them. Many a man has been broken alive on the wheel for offences which were innocence itself compared with the offence which this perjured traitor has committed against me. I have entrusted him as I might have trusted a brother; he has infamously betrayed that trust; and I shall exercise my royal rights over the life of a traitor. I repeat my last words to me. I tell you again he is doomed to die."

With these words the Queen quitted the gallery, and left me and the Marquis alone with the three executioners who were waiting to kill him.

The unhappy man dropped on his knees at my feet, and implored them, with tears, to have pity on his soul. I comforted them, with I have tr

☞ The office of the *National Era* is removed to the newly-erected "Republican Building," corner of Indiana avenue and Second street.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1857.

☞ Our friends will please keep a watch for suspended banks, so as to send us none of their issues if they can help it. Thus far, the New York and New England Banks (excepting those of Providence) continue to pay specie, and the State Banks of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, are yet firm. We hope they will remain so.

Another thing. The pressure is as severe on publishers of newspapers as on other business men, and we trust our friends will not neglect to renew their subscriptions as they expire, and send us new subscribers whenever they can. We need all the aid in their way they can give us.

"THE REPUBLIC."

The REPUBLIC is the name of a new Republican paper just commenced in Washington City. It is printed semi-weekly and weekly, and a daily, it is announced, will appear in the beginning of the next Congress. Mr. Weston is the publisher, and it is under the editorial care of himself and Daniel R. Goodloe, both good writers and able advocates of the Republican cause. They hold some opinions, with which we do not concur; but they believe in the main principles of the Republican movement, are anxious for their establishment, and, we hope, will see in time the propriety of taking a more comprehensive view of the Question of Slavery than they have presented in their Prospectus.

The fact that the paper is printed in the same building as the *Era*, and by Buell & Blanchard, so long our printers, may lead to the supposition that there is some connection between the two papers. We are sure that the editors of the *Republic* will be obliged to us, when we say, to prevent all misunderstanding, there is no connection whatsoever between them, other than that of neighborly courtesy, and a common desire for the triumph of Free Principles. This statement is by no means uncalled for, as some people imagine that I have an interest in whatever goee out from the office of Buell & Blanchard. While they were printing the German paper, edited by Mr. Schmidt, I was repeatedly written to as if I were concerned in it. And the other day, a Southern exchange coolly announced to its readers that the *National Era* was advertised to be sold out, to satisfy the ball in the case of Chaplin.

SECULAR AND SACRED LITERATURE—NEUTRALITY.

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If Christianity is not a friend to Liberty and foe to Slavery; if it have nothing to say in support of the rights of man, and against the sin of slave labor, to his free thought and action; nothing to say in support of the sacredness of the marriage relation, and of the Family Institution; nothing to say for the enlightenment and elevation of all men; nothing to say for the rights of the South, "from the tried and fast friends of the Society" in that section, same strong expressions of opinion, "that any publication of our press, bearing upon the topic of Slavery, even though of Southern authorship, and carefully kept within the terms of the resolutions of the Anniversary, could have no other effect than precipitating the entire withdrawal of the South from co-operation with the Society."

For the purpose, therefore, of preventing schism, of keeping the South from the bosom of the country, and of circulating tracts in both the Northern and Southern States, among Slaveholders and Non-Slaveholders, the Committee resolved to discontinue the publication of the work under consideration, assuming the ground that it is inexpedient to issue anything from the Press of the Society bearing in any way upon the topic of Slavery. This action will of course be considered by the Society at its next Anniversary, and it is not improbable that it may be sanctioned.

Every organization has the instinct of self-preservation. It shrinks from whatever may impair its strength, circumscribe its means, limit its influence, or threaten it with division. From the consciousness of usefulness may grow its strongest motive to compromise: Truth. The American Tract Society claims to be a benefactor of the first rank. "Its accredited issues," it boasts, "contain the siftings of a rich evangelical literature, in our own and in European lands—books on which God's spirit has put his evident and gracious approval." It is desirable to obtain for these the widest possible circulation—to accomplish which we must have money, and free course in all sections of the country. We are anxious to raise funds from all classes, and to find readers among all. Let us therefore exclude topics which may tend to counteract this two-fold object.

This is prudent, and prudence, although not the highest virtue, is still commendable. The policy of the Publishing Committee of the Tract Society is just like that of some of the secular Publishing Houses in New York, which refuse to be proscribed in any section, exclude from their issues whatever may offend any. But, in this case, it is neither Christian nor heroic. The American Tract Society, as we understand it, is organized for the purpose of disseminating, in a cheap way, publications on the doctrines commonly received among what are called "evangelical sects," and on Christianity as applied to practical life under all its forms. It studiously ignores any one of those doctrines, we suppose it is disloyal to its constitution. If it omits to oppose any evil, or inculcate any duty, recognized by Christianity, it is false to its trust, no matter what may be its motive.

But, who is to decide with regard to the doctrine, or duty? The majority. If a question is raised as to the fitness of any topic for discussion, the majority must decide. Suppose that topic be Slavery: it is proposed to prohibit a tract on the duty of teaching slaves to read the Bible for themselves, on the duty of regarding the marriage of slaves as sacred, on the inhumanity of selling children from their parents, and so breaking up by violence the family relation. Such topics must not be discussed in our publications, says one party: if your issues bear upon them, the entire South will withdraw from you; you will be able to make no more collections in that region; Southern People will not only reject those publications, but all the "accredited issues," heretofore acceptable, "the siftings of the rich evangelical literature of our own and other lands"—you will split the Society, reduce its resources, impair its usefulness.

She reply is obvious. Whatever is morally wrong, the Society is bound to condemn—its issues must faithfully embody all Christian Truth in its application to all Human Relations. It cannot ignore the moral character of Slavery, without keeping back a large part of Christian Truths, and thus proving false to its Constitution and its professions. If those who hold these views believe Slavery to be a moral wrong, and the parent of many moral wrongs, they cannot consistently with piety shall keep silence: if the other party does not believe Slavery a moral wrong, and the parent of moral wrongs, it ought to insist either upon the policy of silence, or on the expediency of issuing tracts in its support. There can be no compromise between the two parties, without a sacrifice of conscience on one side or the other. Let them first have a full interchange of opinions and arguments on the subject, and, failing to agree, manfully decide by vote what views shall control the Society. If the friends of Freedom have the majority, let them act out their own conscientious convictions, and let their opponents act upon theirs. How absurd this perpetual effort, to harmonize contradictions! How can two opposing principles be reconciled? How can you expect two upright and honorable publishers, one of Anti-Slavery, the other of Pro-Slavery views, to form a partnership for the purpose of promoting the establishment of a National Literature?

The determination of leading Southern men is, to have a Southern Literature. They have taken measures to prepare such school books as will suit their institutions. It shall not only not contain a word suggestive of hostility to Slavery, but shall treat it as the best form of civilization; and they are engaged in expurgating standard works going into the hands of the young, so as to leave them in ignorance of the world's protest against Slavery. This is logical. They act like men in earnest, as they believe it is, and they have written out the fire of Free Society. Should we, who hate oppression, repudiate the despotic principle, believe in the natural and inalienable rights of man, understand the superiority of free labor and free institutions, do less than they—trim, and compromise, and stifle our noblest thoughts and words, lest we forfeit the support of the friends of Slavery? Are we willing, by our silence and connivance, to countenance their allies, in the new enterprise of establishing a Literature for Slavery?

Let them be true to their convictions—let us be true to ours. If we cannot propagate ideas of Freedom in the South, we can maintain them in the North. We hold that Slavery is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, with the progress of the age, with the fundamental principles of Republicanism, with our Free Institutions. The Tract Society and its agents to present these views formally, in all our publications, or become systematic propagandists, but our Literature of whatever kind should be not only in harmony with them, but take its complexion from them. The world's Literature so far has been inimical to Slavery, and it is too late in the day for even the Tract Society to neutralize its hostility, and strike it

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SECULAR AND SACRED LITERATURE—NEUTRALITY.

Some allusion has been made in the *Era* to the recent action of the Publishing Committee of the American Tract Society, respecting the publication of tracts on the subject of Slavery. At the last Anniversary, it was thought expedient, says the Executive Committee, that certain dumb before oppression. "The sifting of rich evangelical literature" may again be sifted so as to get rid of every grain instinct with liberty, but men will turn away in disgust from the insipid trash, and find in the divine humanities of Dickens and Stowe gratification for their nobler tastes.

If Christianity is not a friend to Liberty and foe to Slavery; if it have nothing to say in support of the rights of man, and against the sin of slave labor, to his free thought and action; nothing to say in support of the sacredness of the marriage relation, and of the Family Institution; nothing to say for the enlightenment and elevation of all men; nothing to say for the rights of the South, "from the tried and fast friends of the Society" in that section, same strong expressions of opinion, "that any publication of our press, bearing upon the topic of Slavery, even though of Southern authorship, and carefully kept within the terms of the resolutions of the Anniversary, could have no other effect than precipitating the entire withdrawal of the South from co-operation with the Society."

For the purpose, therefore, of preventing schism, of keeping the South from the bosom of the country, and of circulating tracts in both the Northern and Southern States, among Slaveholders and Non-Slaveholders, the Committee resolved to discontinue the publication of the work under consideration, assuming the ground that it is inexpedient to issue anything from the Press of the Society bearing in any way upon the topic of Slavery. This action will of course be considered by the Society at its next Anniversary, and it is not improbable that it may be sanctioned.

Every organization has the instinct of self-preservation. It shrinks from whatever may impair its strength, circumscribe its means, limit its influence, or threaten it with division. From the consciousness of usefulness may grow its strongest motive to compromise: Truth. The American Tract Society claims to be a benefactor of the first rank. "Its accredited issues," it boasts, "contain the siftings of a rich evangelical literature, in our own and in European lands—books on which God's spirit has put his evident and gracious approval." It is desirable to obtain for these the widest possible circulation—to accomplish which we must have money, and free course in all sections of the country. We are anxious to raise funds from all classes, and to find readers among all. Let us therefore exclude topics which may tend to counteract this two-fold object.

This is prudent, and prudence, although not the highest virtue, is still commendable. The policy of the Publishing Committee of the Tract Society is just like that of some of the secular Publishing Houses in New York, which refuse to be proscribed in any section, exclude from their issues whatever may offend any. But, in this case, it is neither Christian nor heroic. The American Tract Society, as we understand it, is organized for the purpose of disseminating, in a cheap way, publications on the doctrines commonly received among what are called "evangelical sects," and on Christianity as applied to practical life under all its forms. If it studiously ignores any one of those doctrines, we suppose it is disloyal to its constitution. If it omits to oppose any evil, or inculcate any duty, recognized by Christianity, it is false to its trust, no matter what may be its motive.

But, who is to decide with regard to the doctrine, or duty? The majority. If a question is raised as to the fitness of any topic for discussion, the majority must decide. Suppose that topic be Slavery: it is proposed to prohibit a tract on the duty of teaching slaves to read the Bible for themselves, on the duty of regarding the marriage of slaves as sacred, on the inhumanity of selling children from their parents, and so breaking up by violence the family relation. Such topics must not be discussed in our publications, says one party: if your issues bear upon them, the entire South will withdraw from you; you will be able to make no more collections in that region; Southern People will not only reject those publications, but all the "accredited issues," heretofore acceptable, "the siftings of the rich evangelical literature of our own and other lands"—you will split the Society, reduce its resources, impair its usefulness.

She reply is obvious. Whatever is morally wrong, the Society is bound to condemn—its issues must faithfully embody all Christian Truth in its application to all Human Relations. It cannot ignore the moral character of Slavery, without keeping back a large part of Christian Truths, and thus proving false to its Constitution and its professions. If those who hold these views believe Slavery to be a moral wrong, and the parent of many moral wrongs, it ought to insist either upon the policy of silence, or on the expediency of issuing tracts in its support. There can be no compromise between the two parties, without a sacrifice of conscience on one side or the other. Let them first have a full interchange of opinions and arguments on the subject, and, failing to agree, manfully decide by vote what views shall control the Society. If the friends of Freedom have the majority, let them act out their own conscientious convictions, and let their opponents act upon theirs. How absurd this perpetual effort, to harmonize contradictions! How can two opposing principles be reconciled? How can you expect two upright and honorable publishers, one of Anti-Slavery, the other of Pro-Slavery views, to form a partnership for the purpose of promoting the establishment of a National Literature?

The determination of leading Southern men is, to have a Southern Literature. They have taken measures to prepare such school books as will suit their institutions. It shall not only not contain a word suggestive of hostility to Slavery, but shall treat it as the best form of civilization; and they are engaged in expurgating standard works going into the hands of the young, so as to leave them in ignorance of the world's protest against Slavery. This is logical. They act like men in earnest, as they believe it is, and they have written out the fire of Free Society. Should we, who hate oppression, repudiate the despotic principle, believe in the natural and inalienable rights of man, understand the superiority of free labor and free institutions, do less than they—trim, and compromise, and stifle our noblest thoughts and words, lest we forfeit the support of the friends of Slavery? Are we willing, by our silence and connivance, to countenance their allies, in the new enterprise of establishing a Literature for Slavery?

Let them be true to their convictions—let us be true to ours. If we cannot propagate ideas of Freedom in the South, we can maintain them in the North. We hold that Slavery is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, with the progress of the age, with the fundamental principles of Republicanism, with our Free Institutions. The Tract Society and its agents to present these views formally, in all our publications, or become systematic propagandists, but our Literature of whatever kind should be not only in harmony with them, but take its complexion from them. The world's Literature so far has been inimical to Slavery, and it is too late in the day for even the Tract Society to neutralize its hostility, and strike it

VOTING IN KANSAS.

ROSEDALE, K. T., *Sept. 7, 1857.*

To the Editor of the National Era:

We heartily congratulate you upon the fact, that the policy that for months past you have so earnestly and independently advocated for the Free State cause in the Free State cause in Kansas, has at length triumphantly *prevailed*—the people in Mass and Delegate Convention held recently at Grasshopper Falls, unanimously adopted the same, and have come to take part in the October election, and make an effort to obtain possession of the Territorial Legislature. Many of the most true-hearted Free State men in Kansas have all along favored this movement—but some of those who held the leading strings of the party have tried to divide them from the people, by denouncing them as traitors to the cause of Freedom, and proscribing them (because they dared to think for themselves) as "Pro-Slavery" tools of the Democracy. These "leaders" have seemed determined to force the Free State cause into the "Circumlocution Office," but their favorite policy of "keep not to the left" did not take at all with our intelligent and reflecting community, and it was very gratifying to see these "circumlocutionists" wheel round into "rank and file," when they found the people were deciding in favor of the measures they had condemned.

Many anticipate a warm time at the election, but we hope and trust that Gov. Walker will redeem his pledges to us, and then we doubt not that our cause will triumph, and a permanent peace be inaugurated in Kansas.

Very truly yours, &c.

We must confess our gratification at the new position taken by the Free State voters of Kansas. Our only regret is, that they did not adopt it in regard to the Constitutional Convention. It was objected by them in that case that, voting under rules and regulations prescribed by the present Territorial Legislature, it would be a virtual recognition of the citizens of Kansas, not the *people in Kansas.*"

The Judge then gives his opinion upon an important point:

"And now the question arises, who are citizens of Kansas? I say, unhesitatingly, that all bona fide settlers are citizens. It does not matter that the Legislature, the *payment of taxes*, working on the public roads, &c., understand that it takes all these to acquire citizenship."

"Payment of taxes" is to be made an essential qualification of a voter in Kansas. We think there can be no doubt of this; and the Free State men in that Territory may as well qualify themselves (under protest) at once. We quote further from the letter:

"This I conceive to be Gov. Walker's position. If we are correct, then I say that Gov. Walker is right. To this proposition I cannot see how my brother friend can object. I will say that the Constitution should not be submitted, or that, if submitted, it should be for a vote of the *bona fide people in Kansas*, is an absurdity; under that rule, and a strict construction of the law, not one-half of the actual citizens of the Territory, for the last twelve months, would be allowed to vote; and this is the negligence of officers denominated the citizens of the Territory? I think not. But to be in Kansas only for the purpose for whose benefit is a Constitution formed? The people's? Then, if the citizens are to be affected by it, they are the proper persons to determine their form of Government. But they say that they will not say that a majority of the citizens of Kansas at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, voted for the same. Consequently, you should not have a Constitution representing the will of the majority at the time of its adoption. You may have the Constitution representing the will and opinion of a majority of the people one or two years ago. According to that doctrine, if the Legislature had ordered an election for a Constitutional Convention two years ago, and the Delegates had been elected and met in Congress, for some reason, had declined accepting it up to the present time, although nineteen-twentieths of the actual citizens were now opposed to it, it would be incumbent upon the people to adopt it, and thus yon see, at once, the Constitution so formed would not be a Constitution representing the will of the people at all; for if the people that were here in March last have the right to form our Constitution for us, the people here two years ago had the same right to form a Constitution for us as ordered it. Then we say that every man, who by law is entitled to vote for Delegates to Congress, or Legislators, and subject to taxation at the time of the election, should be allowed to vote for or against the Constitution; these things being the pre-requisites of citizenship."

Our readers will observe that Judge Elmore is indirectly in favor of the submission of the proposed Constitution to the legal voters of Kansas—according to the requirements of the laws. He admits that it would be grossly unfair to refer the Constitution to registered voters only, for the officers of the Territory have neglected their duty—"then should the negligence of officers disfranchise the citizens of the Territory?" A pertinent question, and well put by Judge Elmore. We are glad to see his letter in the Missouri Democrat, and hope that the Pro-Slavery citizens of Kansas and the Border Ruffians of Missouri will ponder it well. The "prerequisites of citizenship," stated so dogmatically in the letter, may be questionable, but we shall be thankful if Judge Elmore can bring the enemies of Freedom in Kansas to subscribe to his opinions on other points at issue.

COMPENSATED EMANCIPATION.—The Southern press universally ridicules the idea of a compensated emancipation. The subjoined paragraphs, which we cut from the New Orleans *Delta*, are a fair sample of the Southern press upon this subject:

"Why, Messrs. Philanthropists, the productive value of the slaves you propose to purchase, for one year alone, and in the article of cotton alone, is not less than $150,000,000 per annum, and one which will be increased instead of your extremely liberal offer. Yon tender the price of only six out of thirty crops of cotton, after which our property of slaves is good for. But, worse than that, you would get the greater part of the compensation out of the pockets of the slaveholders themselves; for while they have an interest in the slave lands, they contribute over two-thirds of the surplus revenue. Candidly, gentlemen, your Down-East proclivities to drive a bargain must have got the better of your sense of justice as well as propriety.

"The truth is, there never was a more absurd and impractical idea than that of purchasing universal negro freedom with Government funds, even leaving out of question the patent unconstitutionality of the thing. To what such an object the proceeds of the public lands would be a mere dribblet, not worth mentioning. The aggregate value of Southern slaves at the present prices can be scarcely less than $2,000,000,000, and, at the rate the nation, not less than $1,500,000,000. Admitting (which is not admissible) that the surplus revenue should be applied as it was in the last fiscal year, namely, about $20,000,000, and it would require fully seventy-five years to carry into effect the wonderful project of compensation and emancipation—by which time, we should have the extinction of two generations of Anti-Slavery agitators before it saw the final extinction of Slavery. Besides, in the meantime, in the meantime, the sources of revenue would be drying up as emancipation proceeded. The withdrawal of labor from the cultivation of the public lands, from which we are deriving now three-fourths of the revenue, would soon reduce the surplus to nothing; and if the project were continued, it would in due time exhaust the revenue derived from duties on imports nearly altogether."

These may not be the opinions of the inhabitants of the South, but they are nearly or quite all the other States in the South.

CREDIT GIVEN TO THE "ABOLITIONISTS."

It is not often that we find a Southern journal willing to award any degree of credit to Anti-Slavery men or "Abolitionists," as Pro-Slavery writers invariably style all men not friendly to the institution of Negro Slavery. But it seems that this unfortunate class of citizens have really accomplished some good—that they deserve a little credit—and the Richmond *South* awards it in the following language:

"Slowly, perhaps, but surely enough, is the Southern mind working itself clear of every traditional prejudice against Slavery. May be, if the Abolitionists had let us alone, we might never have ventured to explore the foundations of our system of society, and might still cower under the self-accusing conviction that it is incompatible with reason and justice. But the Abolitionists forced us to the alternative of abandoning Slavery or defending it on principle; and the result is an unquestioning and universal assent to the proposition that the institution of the South is right, and strongly and which fearlessly follows out the conclusions of which we may accept. We stand now upon an elevation from which we may calmly look back upon recanted error and exploded prejudice."

If these statements are correct, what a debt of gratitude the South owes "the Abolitionists!" Previous to their officious and intermeddling agitation, even in the South there was a general feeling of guilt in regard to Slavery. It was secretly believed, after all, that to take a man by force, and compel him to labor without wages, was a wicked, criminal act. But, now, after examining the question thoroughly in self-defence, the *South* is happy to find that *Slavery is right.* It does not interfere with "acknowledged rights," and it is favorable to the "interests of humanity," and, what is better still, a "universal assent" is given to these propositions in the Slave States.

The old cry, that Anti-Slavery men have always worked ill to the slaves and to the South, is then no longer reasonable, for it has placed the institution upon "an impregnable basis."

It seems, however, that the *South* is not yet completely satisfied with the workings of Slavery. Says the Richmond journal, quoted from above:

"In some measure the mind of the South is still fettered by the fallacies of an unenlightened age; and until it entirely escapes from the yoke of error, there should be no pause in the work of discussion and agitation.

In the South, at least, nobody will now venture to contend that Slavery wants the support of the State, and that it will not very frequently we hear intelligent people deny that it will flourish in a certain climate, or hold its own against the industry of hireling labor. Although these fallacies do not affect the root of the institution, they are yet of sufficient importance to justify a formal refutation.

"It is true, that the slave labor of the South cannot compete with the hireling labor of the North, is the inference of a narrow and superficial observation. People see hireling labor in successful competition with slave labor, since the interest is embarrassed by every sort of burden and impediment, and the other is free from all fetters, possessing, as it does, every advantage—since the Northern States will not permit Slavery to try its chances on their soil, while they claim and enjoy an equal rivalry for their system in the South—since these things are true, how can anybody venture to affirm that slave labor is incapable of sustaining itself in the competition with hireling labor? Are we not rather driven to the conclusion, that the productive energies of slave labor, when we discover that, despite all the disparity of advantages, the social system of the South not only holds its own, but is stronger, more secure, more aggressive, than at any former period of its history?"

We do not propose here to reply to these statements—for they are mere statements, unsupported by facts. If the Southern planters are still "fettered by the fallacies of an unenlightened age," it strikes us that *this* is not the way to undeceive them. Give them *facts.* Prove to them that the South is richer with slave labor than the North with free labor—that the cenans reports, and compute the wealth and prosperity of the two sections of the country. This is an impossible task, and assertion must answer in the place of evidence.

KANSAS.—The U. S. troops have left Lawrence for Utah. The remaining forces will quarter at Fort Leavenworth. The troops just started for Salt Lake will probably have a horrible time of it, they are so late in the season for an overland expedition. It is reported that Governor Walker dislikes the removal of the regiment which was at Lawrence. The Kansas correspondent of the *Boston Traveller* writes:

"Walker threatens to resign, unless he can have back his troops, and this identical regiment. Honor says he has gone down the hill the wrong way to Washington. Of that you will know before this can reach you. I think better of Walker than we did a few weeks since. I verily believe he is bent on better things than this ten-eaters who control this Territory. Northern Democrats are willing should be done. They are attempting to crush him. They want no Governor with U. S. troops at his disposition to sustain, between them and their prey. They want another Woodson, with a proclamation of martial law, martial rule, and that they hope to have in Stanton. Like Walker, he will resign, will need the troops for his body guard. Like Geary, he is learning that there is no middle ground between ruffianism and absolute justice; between the reign of the blue lodges of Missouri and that of the free people of Kansas; between a murderous, whisky-drinking oligarchy, and the majesty of the law. Walker is determined to stand or fall by the

AFFAIRS IN KANSAS.

Proclamation of Governor Walker.

The St. Louis papers contain Governor Walker's proclamation to the people of Kansas, with reference to the approaching elections. We extract the material portions of it:

THE RIGHT TO VOTE.

It will be perceived that the act of Congress is clear and explicit on this subject. It prescribes that "every free white male citizen" "shall be entitled to vote at the *first election*, and shall be eligible to any office within the Territory; but the qualifications of voting and of holding office on all subsequent elections shall be such as *shall be prescribed by the Legislative Assembly*. The provisions have no application whatever to the subject, inasmuch as they only prohibit the Legislature from permitting persons to vote who are neither native nor naturalized citizens, or have declared on oath their intentions to become citizens, and certain officers, soldiers of the army, &c.

Now, then, it is clear, first, that, as regards all elections but the first, the qualifications are not prescribed at all by the act of Congress; second, the qualifications with the restrictions before mentioned, for all subsequent elections, are to be designated exclusively by the Territorial Legislature.

It is certain, then, that the question now raised as regards the pretended right of persons to vote who have not the required qualifications, under the act of Congress, for voting at the first election, but are excluded by subsequent Territorial legislation now in force, has no foundation in law in fact, and that to protect the just rights of every citizen, and especially of performing my sworn duty of supporting the Constitution of the United States, and taking care that the laws be faithfully executed, to see that the great fundamental principle which lies at the basis of our American institutions, secured by the Federal compact, and guaranteed by our organic act of Congress, shall be maintained, viz: That *the people of Kansas, in the true meaning of the act, free from all violence and constraint, are to govern themselves, and to make their own laws, and control their own Government.* This has been the great principle—the just and faithful execution of our organic law—which has been the basis of my acts in Kansas, and to which I shall adhere, regardless of menace, calumny, or abuse, and which will be arrested and prevented by the judges of the elections.

THE TERRITORIAL TAX.

While the tax remains, the qualification applies no more to the election in October than it does to the election of delegates to the Convention, because it is levied in both at the time, and because we have no right to insert a most important provision that is thus omitted by the Legislature, and which, if we have the right of interpreting the statutes, that if the Legislature had intended, in either case, in prescribing the qualifications, and all the qualifications of voters, to exclude all who had not been inserted in preceding law, they would have repeated the restriction in a subsequent statute. How easy was it for the Legislature in prescribing the qualifications of voters under the Territorial Election Law, if they intended, in addition to the qualifications named in these laws, to require the payment of a tax levied in both the first and not left it to others to interpolate words which they had excluded. They have not said so, and that is enough. On this subject, I have never entertained a doubt, and never supposed there could be any question. And I might have declined the expression of any opinion on the subject, and waited for the certain knowledge of the fact communicated to me from almost every quarter of the Territory, and from all parties, that these conflicting constructions of the law, if not settled, will certainly produce collision at the polls, and most probably a disastrous civil war and revolution. I claim no authority to instruct the judges of election, but as an official agent, to tell how they shall decide; but I give my opinion, as others have given theirs, and with the same sincerity, that I have given all my opinions on what to prevent the disasters with which we are threatened, growing out of these conflicting opinions, and that it may render unnecessary a resort to force, and the shedding of blood by orders, to preserve the peace of the Territory.

In reply to a communication (embodying these views) in a despatch from the Secretary of State, now date of September, 1857, and not to £100,000,000, and depreciates the validity of every kind of security, thus creating universal distrust, &c., with much more in the same style. The despatch winds up by requesting the formation of a London committee on American stocks, to protect the interests of foreign holders.

A London attorney named Dean has absconded, leaving debts to the amount of £150,000 sterling, including forgeries on a gigantic scale.

Dr. Livingstone, the African traveler, a member of the Manchester Cotton Supply Association, and in explaining the commercial resources of Africa, said it was well adapted to the production of sugar and cotton, and that the mission he was intended to devote his future life to special efforts to develop those products in Africa. A resolution was passed, asking the Government to furnish Dr. Livingston a steamer for ascending the Bamfest river.

Letters from Lady Franklin of Arctic expeditions from Behring's river, Greenland, are to the progress of the expedition exceeds all expectations."

The submarine telegraph between Europe and the coast of Africa was successfully laid on the 9th.

The East India Company have chartered ten additional steamers to carry troops to India.

Religious riots have been renewed at Belfast, Ireland. The Roman Catholics had organized an armed club for protection against the Orangemen, and the Government has appointed a commission to inquire into the affair.

Captain Roberts, convicted of the murder of a sailor on board the ship, was executed at Liverpool on Saturday. The two mates, convicted on the same charge, were respited.

The Emperor of France is to meet the Emperor Alexander at Stettin, on the 20th inst. It was rumored that the Kings of Prussia and Bavaria would also be present.

The official accounts of the French harvests would exceed all expectations.

British agents are recruiting for the army at Lisle.

The Bank of France returns show an immense increase of bullion.

The investigation of the late insurrection in Italy has terminated. Twenty-seven persons had been condemned, charged with murdering or maiming soldiers, and the remainder arrested for high treason.

Spain is still sending reinforcements to Cuba.

A difficulty between France and Austria, in regard to reforms in the Papal States, has arisen, and the Emperor of Russia will arbitrate.

The Emperor of Russia arrived at Warsaw on the 5th.

The Persians have evacuated Herat.

There is nothing later from India. The total force of the English army there and en route was 87,000 men. It is reported that England is about opening recruiting offices in several of the German principalities.

LATER FROM EUROPE.

St. John's, N. B., Sept. 28.—The steamer Jura, from Cork, with dates to the 17th, had arrived here. Her dates from London are to Tuesday, the 15th, four days later.

The Jura brings but one paper only, the *Cork Examiner* of Wednesday. She has been chartered, to take two regiments of troops from St. John's to Liverpool.

The steamer City of Washington arrived out on the 17th instant.

The Emperor Alexander has arrived at Berlin.

The cholera was raging at Hamburgh, Austria, Stockholm, and other places, and was very fatal.

The Bank of Holland has increased its rates to 5 per cent. It was anticipated that most of the German banks would be compelled to follow the example, and a general rise be established.

The India mail brings dates from Delhi to the 29th of August. Several sorties had been repulsed with great loss to the rebels; but 500 British troops had been killed or wounded in the contests.

The Neemuch mutineers had reached Delhi Gen. Nicholson was daily expected from the Punjaub with reinforcements.

Gen. Havelock occupied Bithoor on the 17th without resistance.

Nena Sahib had escaped.

Gen. Havelock, on the 29th, defeated 10,000 rebels on the road to Lucknow. The British loss was trifling.

The buildings at Cawnpore are confirmed.

Accounts from Moldavia state that the recent elections in the Principalities resulted favorably to the Union.

Bucharest and Hydrabad were quiet up to the 14th of August. It was expected that Delhi would soon fall. Generals Havelock and Neill were advancing upon Lucknow.

The butcher Nena Sahib was reported as having committed suicide.

Three regiments of the Bengal native Indian army had revolted, and fled to Rosne river, where they were pursued by Gen. Floyd, and 800 of the mutineers were killed. The mutineers were also routed at Tinlalpore. Mutinous plots had been discovered at Benares and other places.

Gen. Havelock, after reoccupying Cawnpore, burned Betoor.

Campbell had assumed command of the British forces.

Details are given of further atrocities by the Sepoys.

Gen. Havelock, while advancing upon Cawnpore, marched 126 miles in three days, and fought four desperate battles against Nena Sahib, completely routing him. Nena Sahib's atrocities at Cawnpore beggar description. Four hundred persons, including 70 women and 120 children, were massacred in cold blood, so that the court yard fronting Sahib's headquarters was swimming in blood. Sahib escaped, but subsequently drowned himself, together with his family.

Markets.

London, Sept. 15.—Breadstuffs generally are dull, but wheat is active and firm at last quotations.

The money market is slightly more stringent. Consols for money 90¼.

Liverpool, Sept. 15.—Red wheat has advanced 3d. Flour closed buoyant. Corn is quiet, but firm. There is nothing about cotton in the Cork paper.

Among the persons who are to be promoted in the British Peerage is the Marquis of Lansdowne, who is to be made Duke of Kerry. Fifty-one years ago, the Marquis, then Lord Henry Petty, was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the "Talents" Ministry of Fox and Grenville. Ever since that time he has had a prominent place among the English statesmen. His career is of frequent mention in the writings of most literary men. He was a fast friend of Thomas Moore, who lived hard by his famous country place Bowood, and whose debts he paid by the force of association. It was at the Marquis's desire that Moore took up his residence at Sloperton, where he remained from 1817 to his death. The family of which the Marquis, or Duke, is the head, is a singular mixture of aristocracy and democracy, and might have been expected to furnish the English nobleman of his assertion that the English democracy was, from an early period, the most aristocratic, and the English aristocracy the most democratic in the world; "a proximity," he adds, "which has lasted down to the present day, and which has produced many important moral and political effects."

CHINESE SUGAR CANE.

Statement of D. Book, of the Firm of Buck & Olds, Albany, Whiteside County, Illinois.

To the Editor of the National Era:

About the first of April, I bought a package of perhaps a gill of seed of the Chinese sugar cane. About the middle of May, I planted twenty seeds in my garden, about eight or nine inches apart; they all came up; but the six nearest the corner of the lot, and the only other nine grew slow, and looked unthrifty for two or three weeks, the weather being cold and wet; but when the hot weather came on, they grew rapidly. Mr. Olds planted about the same in his garden, and about the same number grew. On the 11th of September, we cut up the largest stalk, and tested to matured seed fully. That which we cut of his had passed the milky state. After stripping the leaves off, and cutting the heads off, with perhaps a foot of the stalk, they measured, standing on the ground them with two pair of cast-iron rollers belonging to our mashing machine, which, with a little alteration, we made to answer all purposes, as they are brought together with a bow purchase. We got out two gallons of juice, which he boiled down to four pounds of good, thick molasses.

The next day, we cut forty stalks of my planting, (the whole product of my nine seeds being fifty-four stalks.) After trimming them nicely for grinding, we weighed the fifty-three pounds, the average length when trimmed eight feet and eight inches. These were not so far advanced in ripening as the first mentioned. They were mostly between the blossom and the milky state. We ground them, as before, once, through two pair of rollers. I got twenty-three pounds of juice, which we boiled in twenty minutes, and got four pounds and thirteen ounces of molasses, as thick as the New Orleans usually is. We got in about a teaspoonful of lime before boiling. The molasses is a handsome straw color, but it has a slight flavor of corn stalk; otherwise it is charming. The blossom end of the stalk ripened on our farm, and is two or three weeks later. I think that four times the amount that I got can be obtained from every square rod of land that will produce corn. I have no doubt it will come to the acre.

Albany, Illinois, Sept. 15, 1857.

Reply of the Connecticut Clergymen to President Buchanan.

New York, Sept. 23.—The reply of the Connecticut clergymen to President Buchanan's letter appears this afternoon. The memorialists say that Mr. Buchanan's formal vindication is entirely groundless and unsatisfactory. They take the ground that there was no Government or laws in Kansas, in a just, proper, authorized meaning of the language, at Mr. Buchanan's session in May last, and that, therefore, the only Government or law which has no evidence of authority. By the Constitution of the United States, the power was vested in the people, and not our Government the right to authorize and regulate the government of its Territories? Can Congress or the President abandon right, or the duty which belongs to the people? Our allegiance owes any deity whatever to the country, is it not most sacredly bound to protect the Territory against the imposition of a Government not have by the people, and subjection to such another State? The memorialists urge, therefore, that the so-called Government of Kansas has no claim to our allegiance or to obedience. The evidence was all against the very fact that the so-called Government required support from the Federal Executive. There was the strongest evidence that it was the enemy of the people, and had no lawful authority. With the solemn decision of the House of Representatives, after investigation, that the pro-slavery Legislature of Kansas had no authority, and that its laws were no laws—with that direct, positive, unimpeachable evidence before you, your memorialists cannot but express their surprise that you have relied upon your construction of indirect, inconclusive acts of that same body, as evidence of the authority of that Legislature. They have not the right of law by which you can set up constructive, indirect evidence against direct and positive evidence, drawn from the same source. By such a proceeding, it is, for any grounds, rests, in the view of you memorialists, upon one palpably false assumption: Whatever claims to a Government *de facto*, without a previous decision according to any rightful law-making power, is entitled to your support. The world has not seen a usurpation which this principle would not sanction. That principle is not American. It must involve, sooner or later, its destruction.

New York Banks.

New York, Sept. 28.—Terror seized upon the stock exchange this morning, and the whole list went down from one to twelve per cent. The most extravagant and groundless rumors are afloat, discrediting houses known to be beyond casualty.

The Presidents of the city banks have issued the following circular:

"The undersigned, having been called upon to give their opinion as regards the effect likely to be produced upon the banks of this city by the suspension of institutions in neighboring cities, reply that it is their decided opinion that the banks of the city of New York are in a safe and secure position, and that they can not only sustain themselves as specie-paying banks, but, from the natural flow of coin and produce to this port, can afford such assistance as may be called to furnish further and more efficient aid to the mercantile community." Signed by the Presidents of the Phœnix, Merchants', Mechanics', Metropolitan, Union, and other banks.

At the clearing house to-day everything was quiet. The exchanges amounted to nearly twenty millions of dollars, and there was not the slightest indication or irregularity. The savings banks are redeeming the Government stocks held by them, which will help to strengthen money for a time. The banks generally have notified their customers that collections will be made at their risk, and extend provisions for all Western collections until specie payment is resumed.

All orders from the country to buy stocks have been countermanded, from the difficulty of procuring exchange, and renewed orders are given to sell without limit.

The board of brokers have again extended time sales to sixty days.

Advices from Albany mention a run upon the Savings Department by the small depositors. There is no pressure elsewhere. Money is plenty. The banks and the bill-holders and banks there are quiet and confident.

Lieut. Gen. Scott and Gen. Pillow.

Lieut. Gen. Winfield Scott is out in a card in reply to the recent letter of Gen. Pillow. The latter says that Gen. Scott, during the war with Mexico, Mr. Trist, by agreement, engaged to pay to Gen. Santa Anna "cash in hand, an earnest money, one thousand dollars," to induce him to entertain negotiations for a peace; and that subsequently Mr. Trist told him (Gen. P.) "that Gen. Scott had furnished him (Mr. T.) the money, and that he (Mr. T.) had paid the ten thousand dollars." To this Gen. Scott responds, very emphatically, as follows:

"Being morally certain that Mr. Trist never made any such declaration, it is almost useless to say that I never turned over a dollar to him for such or any other purpose whatever, and am very sure that Mr. Trist had not a dollar of public money in his possession while in Mexico, and never more than sufficed for his very moderate expenses in his private purse; and I certify that I never, at any time, paid, paid to Gen. Santa Anna, or caused to be paid to him, or to another, for his use or benefit, one dollar or more, on any account or in any way whatever. Santa Anna was at that time, as now, worth millions, and had, in that office, the irresponsible control of all the public money of Mexico, which he left by the force of association. It was at the Marquis's desire that Moore took up his residence at Sloperton, where he remained from 1817 to his death. The family of which the Marquis, or Duke, is the head, is a singular mixture of aristocracy and democracy, and might have been expected to furnish the English nobleman of his assertion that the English democracy was, from an early period, the most aristocratic, and the English aristocracy the most democratic in the world; "a proximity," he adds, "which has lasted down to the present day, and which has produced many important moral and political effects."

Sorghum Sugar.

One of the finest samples of sugar we have seen, says the Austin (Texas) *Gazette*, is a sample made from the Sorghum cane, by Mr. Studor, near Austin. It is one of fine grain and color, and would command the highest price in New Orleans. We have also seen a sample of Rice made from Sorghum also, which is a very superior article. Mr. Studor has been highly successful. We expect that his experiment has no superior in the State.

Miss Harriet Martineau,

In a letter to the London *News*, refutes the story that the father of Miss Bronte was disposed with Mrs. Carlyle's dog, and the malodorous death of the animal, as reported by the lady. The Duke of Devonshire recently paid a visit to the Rev. P. Bronte, as a proof of his regard for the venerable and estimable incumbent, and of the departed worth and genius of his talented children.

Herndon.

It is reported that negotiations are going on between the Boston Submarine Armor Company and the underwriters of the Central America, to raise her and her treasure. The specie in her alone would furnish ample inducement for the enterprise, and I have no doubt that the fact that Captain Herndon was reported to have given her position to the vessel which refused to come to his relief.

The Last Vessel from the Wreck of the Central America.

Boston, Sept, 24.—The mysterious or unknown schooner which passed under the stern of the lost steamer Central America on the evening of the wreck, and to which universal mention has been made in several statements of the passengers, proves to have been the schooner El Dorado, Captain Stone. She arrived at this port this afternoon, and the Captain makes the following report: "On the 11th inst., in lat. 29 40, long. 78 20, experienced a terrible hurricane, during the prevalence of which she lost her mainmast. On the 12th, at half-past 6 P. M., in lat. 21 25, long. 77 10, spoke the steamer Central America, the wind at the time blowing a gale. She was then under reefs and 9 30, the following morning. Her lights disappeared at 45 minutes after 7 the previous evening. Wore ship and run as near as possible to the spot, but saw nothing of her or any of the passengers, either from the deck or aloft."

It had been hoped that this schooner, the lights of which had still been seen by some of the rescued after the wreck, had succeeded in picking up some of the unfortunate passengers; but she neither brings any, nor did she see any thing of them on the voyage. The intervening follows the distressing calamity. The painful inference is, therefore, that the remainder of the passengers, officers, and crew, will never be heard from more.

English View of Mormon Affairs.

The London *Times* appears to take a lively interest in the proceedings of the United States Government in reference to the Mormons of Utah. It assumes that the President has received "to brush up the dormant loyalty" of the meaning, probably, at Great Salt Lake city—and adds:

"There will be great difficulties, owing to the weakness of the Federal Government, *lately whose force is reported to have deserted at once and* in the meantime, the Legislature of Kansas had no authority, and that its laws were no laws—with that direct, positive, unimpeachable evidence before you, your memorialists cannot but express their surprise that you have relied upon your construction of indirect, inconclusive acts of that same body, as evidence of the authority of that Legislature. They have not the right of law by which you can set up constructive, indirect evidence against direct and positive evidence, drawn from the same source. By such a proceeding, it is, for any grounds, rests, in the view of you memorialists, upon one palpably false assumption: Whatever claims to a Government *de facto*, without a previous decision according to any rightful law-making power, is entitled to your support. The world has not seen a usurpation which this principle would not sanction. That principle is not American. It must involve, sooner or later, its destruction.

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The Boston Banks.

The *Journal* learns from an authentic source that the *net gain of coin in the Boston banks for the week ending Saturday morning*, was $375,200. It also adds:

"As a further proof of the sound condition of our business community, we are informed that a notary who has charge of the business of eleven of the largest banks in State street, found last week one note left over on Friday, that for the insignificant sum of $60. The banks gained the sum of $144,000 in specie on Friday, and on Saturday had on hand $2,709,000.

"The monetary excitement on State street was a little varied by rumors of the discovery of a large amount of counterfeit money, stated by some at $30,000, and by others as high as $40,000."

Fire in Philadelphia.

Philadelphia, Sept. 28.—Messrs. McCann & Co.'s oil store, on Delaware avenue, above Walnut street, was burned this morning, and was almost entirely consumed. The upper stories were occupied as a drug warehouse by Samuel Bispham & Co. The flames, while they raged, lying at the wharf immediately opposite, was moved out into the stream to save her from injury. The adjoining store of Messrs. Carson & Wood is in danger as this dispatch is being sent off.

GENERAL SUMMARY.

We have from Kansas Governor Walker's proclamation in regard to the October election. That document is explicit. It explicitly repudiates the doctrine so officiously set forth by Judge Cato, that none but those who have paid the Territorial tax are entitled to vote, and that for this purpose the tax levied by authority of the President, the Secretary of State, and the whole Cabinet at Washington. He calls upon every loyal citizen, regardless of the Territory, who is a citizen of the United States, and has been for *six months* a resident of the Territory, to go to the polls and vote, and pledges the whole power of the Federal Government to prevent the intervention of invaders from Missouri or elsewhere in the election.

Mr. Henry Dwight of Geneva, N. Y., who has left $100,000 to the American Board of Foreign Missions, besides $50,000 to each of his three children, recently left a legacy of eighteen hundred acres of land in Illinois, which is also known as Dwight's Prairie, in which he was born, and was made President of the Bank of Geneva, which he continued to hold carefully for many years. He received a large bequest from a brother who died several years ago. Mr. Dwight, although not known as a large donor to the missionary cause, had been a liberal benefactor in his neighborhood, gave largely to the Missionary and Bible Societies of the Presbyterian Church. He was supposed to be worth about a half million of dollars.

Two of the Justices of the Indiana Supreme Court have resigned their offices, to take effect on the 1st of January next. It has been supposed that at the ensuing October canvass an election will be held to fill the vacancies, and such is alleged to have been the intention of the Judges, but the Governor has decided otherwise, taking the ground that no vacancy can occur until the day fixed by the Constitution for his hench. In this view, which seems plausible enough, he is sustained by the Attorney General. Thus the Governor will have the appointment of Judges to fill the vacancy for a year hence.

Capt. Herndon.—At a meeting held in Baltimore on Friday evening, for the purpose of adopting steps for a proper tribute to the late Captain Herndon, of the United States Navy, officers were present. Commodore Shubrick was appointed President, and on taking the chair delivered an able and eloquent eulogy on the life and services of the gallant deceased. Messrs. Irving Rogers and Page were appointed Secretaries. A series of resolutions was adopted, expressing the sense of the meeting in regard to the family and country sustain, and of condolence with the bereaved wife and children. A committee of seven officers was appointed to make arrangements to attend at the Academy at Annapolis a monument to commemorate the many virtues of the deceased, and as an incentive to young officers to imitate his illustrious example.

A man died last summer in Cuba, aged one hundred and sixty-five years, according to the newspapers, which add that "his first sickness was that which carried him to his grave."

The whole number of cigars exported from Havana up to the 15th of August, the present year, was 94,000,000, of which 28,681,000 were cleared for this country, 16,300,000 to Great Britain, 17,733,000 to Hamburgh and Bremen, 9,628,000 to France, and 8,120,000 to Spain. The exportation of tobacco amounted to 1,150,342 pounds, of which 528,636 pounds were cleared for this country.

A Toledo paper reports a speech made by a gentleman of that city, who had been elected to an important office in a military company. In receiving the commission, he made quite a speech, mounted the rostrum and said: "My brave men, them who voted for me, I *respect*—them who didn't, I *disgust*."

The Buffalo *Republic* accounts for the success of Mormonism in New York, on the theory that men don't stand by polygamy in the region, with porter-house steak at twenty cents, and crinoline at such a circumference.

Sham Democracy is at a discount among the Germans of Missouri. The German *Volksfreund*, published in St. Louis for the last three years as a National Democratic paper, was sold on Saturday last by its publisher, Mr. Aug. Wiebusch, and is now the property of the new editor, appointed by the recent State convention of anti-slavery men.

The new editor is Mr. J. F. Bists, a very able and learned man and a fine writer. In politics this paper is now independent, with a strong proclivities for the white labor and the promotion of emigration to Missouri. The *St. Louis Democrat*, from whence we have this account of the transaction, that since the *Volksblatt* has changed hands, and given up its National Democratic tendency, it has already gained over 500 new subscribers, and a large amount of advertisers.

Hon. Wm. T. Haskell, a distinguished politician of Tennessee, and who served gallantly in the Mexican war, is said to have recently exhibited serious symptoms of insanity.

Among the Americans in Paris about the 1st of September were Henry J. Rogers, James Storrett, Mr. and Mrs. Cortner, and S. M. Smith, of Maryland.

Emory Sudler, Esq., has sold at private sale his plantation, "Mount Hill," in Kent county, Md., containing 300 acres, for $40 per acre. Consigee Coeden, Esq., purchaser.

Rev. Dr. Kirk, of Boston, who went out to establish an American Protestant Chapel in Paris, is among the passengers by the Canada from Liverpool.

President Buchanan was in the city of Lancaster on Saturday, for the first time since his arrival at Wheatland. The *Express* says he was received by the firing of cannon, and by a familiar chat with a number of his old friends and citizens who chanced to drop in. The conversation turning generally on the financial crisis.

The Tallahassee *Sentinel* of the 23d instant reports the prevalence of the yellow fever at Key West. Many cases had occurred, and one death. Dr. Jackson Maxwell and his lady and child are living low. The origin of the disease is attributed to admitting seamen from Aspinwall to the hospital.

The National *Intelligencer* says of the new description of white lily, of African origin, that "it has the delightful peculiarity of a high degree of fragrancy, particularly in the morning, the odor being somewhat like vanilla. The botanists here are puzzled, though very much pleased with it."

The Convention on getting up Southern school-books is a failure. On the 18th May, no one on the committee appointed, according to appointment in Columbia, South Carolina. A gentleman of New Orleans, who sent up the manuscript of a text-book for their examination, had it returned to him by the Postmaster at Columbia, with the words, that "not a man or dog was there."

Kelly Lowe, pastor of the African church, Augusta, Ga., was originally a slave, but his people bought him some years ago, and gave him his freedom. He is a man of talent, and is spoken of by the *Zion's Advocate* says) "he is their servant pecuniarily as well as spiritually." They allow him a salary of from $800 to $1,000 per annum.

The tonnage of Milwaukie now amounts to nearly 30,000 tons, and includes all classes of lake craft. The total value of merchandise imported during the year 1856 was $28,000,000; and the value of the exports was about $20,000,000. The dutiable goods entered at this port will amount, for the present year, to $10,000,000, and the duties collected will nearly reach $500,000.

A most magnificent and interesting work is now being issued at Paris, a complete map of the heavens, so far as our knowledge goes, prepared under the auspices of the Imperial Observatory. It is to consist of 20 large plates, each one of which indicates the position of 25,525 stars of the third magnitude, or 1,659,125 in all. The eighteenth plate, now finished, was recently presented to the Academy of Sciences by M. Leverrier, where it excited immense admiration.

A correspondent of the Petersburgh *Express*, writing on board the steamer Roanoke, at Roanoke Island, says: "Yesterday morning the Roanoke took on here about three hundred bundles of paper, all manufactured in North Carolina, and shipped to the port of New York, *via* Portsmouth. But the strangest idea connected with this transaction is the fact, that the most of it is sold to and consumed by Greeley, in printing that freedom-shrieking sheet, the *Tribune*."

The *London Times* had a very savage leader, not long since, ridiculing the appointment of Sir W. Codrington to be the companion of the Bath, and also on his Continental travels, when his services were needed in India. Seven days afterwards a letter was forwarded to the *Times*, by way of reply, in which the General expressed his thanks for the compliment, and added that if his services should be needed there. The only comment of the *Times* upon this letter is this: "We trust it is no part of the gallant General's duty to act as private tutor to his Royal pupil, the Prince of Wales, in the correct use of the English language."

The President has signed the proclamation for the sale of about two millions and a half of public lands in California, and upward of 450,000 acres in Missouri and in the unlocated tracts in the Sioux half-breed reservation on Lake Pepin, Minnesota. The sales in California will commence in May, and in Missouri and in Minnesota in March next.

The New York *Post* says it is reported that negotiations are going on between the Boston Submarine Armor Company and the underwriters of the Central America, to raise her and her treasure. The specie in her alone would furnish ample inducement for the experiment, if her position can be accurately fixed; and that it can, is probable, from the fact that Capt. Herndon was reported to have given her position to the vessel which refused to come to his relief.

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CURED BY THE OXYGENATED BITTERS.

From Gen. A. C. Dodge, Delegate in Congress from Iowa, now Minister to Spain.

Washington, D. C., *May* 18, 1850.

Dear Sir: The Oxygenated Bitters with which you were so kind as to furnish me, have had a most salutary effect in my case. I was troubled with Dyspepsia for four years, during which time I tried many remedies, but never met with any so good as your Bitters. I have in the enjoyment of good health, and I hope, and believe, that all others who use Oxygenated Bitters, will find them as serviceable as I have found them.

With high respect, your obedient servant,

A. C. DODGE.

We commend the above Certificate to all those who suffer from Dyspepsia, in any of its forms.- Try the Oxygenated Bitters, before you say there is no cure for this distressing disease.

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IN THE

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Chap. II.—Considerations rendering it probable that slavery will cease to exist in Missouri. Connection between slavery and the prices of land. Missouri at present more inviting to the free emigrant than Virginia. Commanding position of Missouri.

Chap. III.—Considerations rendering it probable that the emigration from the free States, hitherto moving westward, may be diverted southward, to Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky. Accumulated power of the population of the free States. No aptitude for slavery in the northern slave States. The right of emigration between the States.

Chap. IV.—Considerations rendering it impossibility of improvement of the non-slaveholding whites. Tendency of slavery to expel the non-slaveholder. Example of South Carolina. Slavery predominant in the mountain region of Virginia, and freedom in others. Non-slaveholding whites in slave countries have no capacity to become citizens of free States. Slaveholders will never give up slavery.

Chap. V.—Comparative growth of Northern and Southern States. Tenacity of slavery in the southern counties of Maryland. Description of Eastern and Western Shores. Slaveholders take the best soils. Baltimore and Ohio Railroad active for the abolition of slavery. The growth of the city of Washington favorable to the removal of slavery from the southern counties of Maryland.

Chap. VI.—Increase of slaves in the several decades since 1810. Number of slaves in Texas in 1840. Increase of slaves in that region in the extreme South. Number of slaves engraves with the area over which they are spread. What the increase would be prevented by natural increase in the United States, and not elsewhere in America.

Chap. VII.—Ordinance of 1787 firmly maintained by subsequent Congresses. Slavery in Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi, never within the control of Congress. Slavery in Louisiana, Florida, Arkansas, and Arkansas contrary to the intention of Congress. The Missouri Compromise was in fact no compromise, but a clear victory of the slaveholders.

Chap. VIII.—Emigration does not diminish population. Opinions of Dr. Malthus, Dr. Franklin, and Dr. Price, on the subject. Explanations. Nearly a million slaves of Virginia stock existing out of Virginia in 1850, who would not have been born but for the demand for domestic slave trade. Free negroes increase slowly, if at all. The Northern States cannot be invaded by slaves.

Chap. IX.—The argument for slavery, as being necessary for the multiplication of negroes. Carrying slaves into new regions not favorable to the increase of slaves, but the contrary. Cruelties of the domestic slave trade.

Chap. X.—The introduction of slaves into the States of the extreme South, to a great extent legislated against by them, and always opposed by many of their citizens. Slave trading Statutes of Virginia. The final suppression of the domestic slave trade would find supporters in all the Southern States. International slave trade prohibited by Great Britain in 1824.

Chap. XI.—America settled from the first three centuries chiefly by negroes. Enormous increase of slaves in the Southern States. The probability of the further territorial expansion of slavery in the United States considered. Causes of slavery as an impediment to this expansion. Within its present limits, slavery will not be crowded for a long time.

Chap. XII.—Slavery will be maintained, so long as it is profitable. The statement, that abolition commenced in 1835, and has retarded emancipation. Effects of the cotton gin. Change in Southern views attributable to increase profits of Slavery. Opinions of Governor Hammond, in favor of perpetual slavery necessary, until the fate of the Territories is decided.

Chap. XIII.—Review of Debates in Virginia in 1832. Abolition not seriously proposed. The fact of emancipation in 1832. Reference to outlets for slaves, since removed. Eastern Virginia opposed to any action. Views of Hon. A. H. Stephens, of Georgia, on slavery. Emancipation in Virginia will be long postponed, unless the domestic slave trade is prohibited.

Chap. XIV.—The extension of slavery profitable to the slave-breeding States, but injurious to the other Southern States. The acquisition of territory not desired by Northern States. Political power the sole object of extending slavery. The agitation of slavery with a view to its emancipation. The South has not gained by agitation.

Chap. XV.—Different views of the manner in which slavery may be extinguished. Slavery cannot be extinguished by the mere operations of slavery. Slavery itself, and not the agitation of it, originated the system of disunion. Nullification first aimed against tariffs. The mischief will be stated, as the area of slavery is extended. Political quicksands the ordinary result of slavery.

Chap. XVIII.—The population of Cuba. Actual number of slaves and free persons of color. Tendency of slavery in Cuba to disappear by increase of whites, the mortality of the slaves, and emancipation under Spanish laws. Classification of agricultural pursuits. Character and increase of the Montcros, or peasantry. Example of Cuba. Climate of Cuba. Slave trade. Population to which labor. Possible change in the methods of the sugar culture. Resources and desirability of the island. If annexed as a slave State, the free laborers of the United States will assert their right to Cuba.

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Washington, D. C.

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They will aim to furnish the reading public a new literature, and to create a taste by which it will be led to form a new and independent vehicle of thought.

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The price is $3 per annum,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

JEFFERSON DAVIS ON KANSAS, GOVERNOR WALKER, AND THE ADMINISTRATION.

From the Memphis Appeal.

The Democracy of De Soto county, Mississippi, gave to the gallant Davis a most cordial, hospitable, and complimentary welcome at Hernando, on the 5th inst. The quiet and unostentatious manner in which he reached the town prevented the citizens from extending to him, as we suppose was the original design, a formal reception on his arrival. On the 5th instant an excellent dinner—modestly called a basket collation—was prepared and served in the court-house enclosure, of which a large number of ladies and gentlemen partook. But previous to the discussion of the creature comforts provided in such lavish profusion by our De Soto neighbors, Colonel Davis addressed his fellow citizens substantially as follows:

* * * "Among other cases, he particularly referred to the deepening of the month of the Mississippi, which was a great improvement to himself and those who heard him, only constituted the more strongly, for that reason, to ease in which they were bound to assert and maintain their principles, as declared and reiterated in Kansas and Washington, and in the Legislature and popular bodies, and by which they were early and consistently arrayed in opposition to internal improvements by the Federal Government. He characterized the whole system as demoralizing, corrupting, and most dangerous to a pure Administration of Federal affairs, and deeply regretted that the executive veto had been overruled by the ardent desire to get possession of the public treasure for particular, and in many cases, local improvements. What boots it that a man shall call himself a Democrat, if upon the great test questions which divides parties he shall be found in every conflict acting with the enemy? And when we have been beaten in the contest, after combat, it can but little console us that he still returns to our powerful camp, to share in the issue of the rations which still belongs to Democracy as a majority to distribute. It is the steady maintenance of the true and old principles of our party which constitute the nationality of the Democracy; and if the National Democracy cannot agree upon any cardinal principle of its faith, it should be quickly avowed, or rather the avowal should never have been declared. He reviewed the various appointments to the gubernatorial office of Kansas, and alike exempted from censure both Mr. Pierce and Mr. Buchanan for the errors or misconduct of their appointees, upon the ground that their antecedents gave them no power to anticipate any difficulty. He found nothing in the instructions given to Gov. Walker which authorized his intervention to mould the institutions of Kansas to the liking of the Republicans of the Territory, and to their delegates in Convention, not only what they should but must do for his pro-consular tone rose even to that height. He said he considered the Convention invested with the power to form a State institution, and either to submit it to the Territorial inhabitants or to send it direct to Congress, in order that Kansas might be admitted as a State into the Union. He thought much error had arisen from the failure to keep up the distinction between this Convention of a Territory and a Convention representing the sovereign people of a State. He referred to the doctrine of squatter sovereignty, as one which he had always considered a failure, and pointed generally to the disastrous consequences which had flowed from it. But he said, leaving that as a question which had been discussed in other times, he now only presented the view which was confined to the present, and that was the difference between this Convention of a Territory and a Convention representing the sovereign people of a State. He referred to the doctrine of the Convention formed the Constitution, though they should refer it, and it should receive the sanction of every man, woman, and child, who might chance to be in the Territory, this choice action of the Convention and its inhabitants could give no effect to the instrument which had been formed. A Territory had two constituencies, the people and the Federal Government.

"The ratification in the case of a State Convention would be final, and the authority to convene would also necessarily come from the people of a State. It being, then, too plain for elucidation that it is only by the consent of a State into the Union that the Constitution adopted in this Territorial Convention can have any value or practical effect, and as it was most desirable to separate the question of the domestic institutions of the people, from that of all intervention, whether Congressional or Executive, it had seemed to him that the shortest was the best route; that is, that the Convention should form a Constitution, and send it direct to the Congress, praying its recognition as a State, and to be admitted into the Union. His long acquaintance and close relations with the President whilst he was a private citizen, did not permit him to doubt his willingness and ability to hold him to the strictest line of unintending sections; so he had no fear that the influence of the President would be used to secure the speedy admission of the State, recognising the right of the Convention, as the representative of the people of the Territory, to decide the question as to whether the Constitution should be submitted to a popular vote or not. He alluded at some length to the political history of Governor Walker, and spoke of him as one whose talents and acquirements he commanded his admiration, and towards whom he had for many years held the kindest personal relations. He expected of Gov. Walker, when he went to Kansas, to discharge his duties fairly towards the conflicting parties, and had the good reason to believe that in his feelings he would be on the side of the Pro-Slavery men. He read, therefore, with equal regret and surprise, his inaugural address and Topeka speech. He had the most entire confidence that the Administration was not responsible for the language employed by Governor Walker, or the reasons he urged. Colonel Davis concurred in the action of the Democratic Convention of Mississippi, in the resolutions adopted in relation to the Convention of Kansas, and to argue from climatic laws that the institution of Slavery was unsuited to the Territory of Kansas. His argument might be true where he located it, on the snow-capped mountains and sterile plains of Kansas; but it was delusive, because in that part of the country there is not, and for a longer period than he could foresee would not be, an agricultural population. The meteorological conditions of the country rendered it under it unfit for cultivation, whatever its temperature might be. The inhabitable, tillable portion of Kansas lies east of the isothermal line drawn through these upper plains, and is part of the valley which forms the most productive portion of the State of Missouri in the great staples of hemp and tobacco. These staples had only been successfully cultivated by slave labor, and he did not doubt that slave property would be the most profitable kind of property in Kansas; and if there were any sincerity in the oft-repeated declaration of our Northern friends, that they were willing to leave the question to be settled by soil and climate, we had a right to claim from them a practical test of fairness and fraternity which belongs alike to the constitutional compact and our party affiliation with them. The Democratic Convention of Mississippi properly refused to involve the Administration in the responsibility of the conduct of Governor Walker; but if it should hereafter appear, of which he would take occasion to say that he had not the least apprehension, that the Administration was responsible for Governor Walker's offensive intervention, then, as the censure attached to the fact, and was not measured by the individual, it would necessarily follow that it must fall upon the Administration; and in proportion as the power and dignity of the offender were increased, so should the severity of the censure be augmented.

"He then adverted to the practical question which would probably be presented to the next Congress—admission of Kansas—but it will be referred or not to the people. It was more than probable that a Constitution which did not exclude, and therefore would recognise, the right to hold slave property in the new State, would be submitted to the Congress. The inquiry would hardly be limited to the fact of its being republican in its character; and if it should turn out that the State should be refused admission, he would be glad to know the meaning of the platform of the Democracy of 1856, in relation to the application of a State tolerating Slavery, and being refused admission into the Union. As a representative of the State, it behooved him to know, in order that he might truly represent the will of the people. It was true that he had learned, and rejoiced to know, that the Union party of 1851 had, with considerable unanimity, now joined the State Rights party of De Soto. It was not, therefore, to recall former distinctions, but to learn from those who had the best opportunity to know the meaning of the declarations then uttered.

"He said, in the moral progress of the few past years, we had gained much in the vindication of the involuntary servitude of the Africans, as right, both in the abstract and the concrete. Northern men, to some extent, have come as Hernando, on the 5th inst. The quiet and unostentatious manner in which he reached the town prevented the citizens from extending to him, as we suppose was the original design, a formal reception on his arrival. On the 5th instant an excellent dinner—modestly called a basket collation—was prepared and served in the court-house enclosure, of which a large number of ladies and gentlemen partook. But previous to the discussion of the creature comforts provided in such lavish profusion by our De Soto neighbors, Colonel Davis addressed his fellow citizens substantially as follows:

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From the Kennebec Journal, September 18.

MAINE ELECTION.

The result of the election, last Monday, is most cheering to all who have desired for years to establish political justice in this State, and permanently secure the ascendency of sound national principles. This is the first real test of the vitality and strength of the friends of Freedom in Maine, as a consolidated party, since the Pro-Slavery factions of the Democratic and Whig parties formed a new political organization on a platform which sprung from the fertile brain of John C. Calhoun, and firmly allied themselves with the fire-eaters and disunionists of the South. Never, since Maine became a State, has there been a party within its limits so strong in numbers, unity of principles and purpose, and possessing so completely the proper elements of political power and nefariousness, as the Republican party, which in a quiet and unexcited canvass has swept so smoothly and triumphantly over the State. Its ranks were welded into one party, they should be nearly as strong as the Republicans. They have now had a fair opportunity to be undeceived, and to learn that they are doomed to be an abject and hopeless minority so long as they cling to the platform of the Pro-Slavery platform which their Southern masters have manufactured for them, and bid them defend. Republican ascendency in Maine is secured for years, and, in an excited and hotly contested election, the majority of last Monday could be easily raised to more than TWENTY THOUSAND. There is one important fact indicated by the returns, to which we call special attention, as it well illustrates the strength of the Republican party, and the hope they can do when the occasion calls. In the towns where there was anything like a real and evenly-balanced contest, the Republicans made a gain on last year.

The election of the Republicans are in the counties and towns, where their strength is nearly double that of their opponents, where no necessity or fear of defeat operated to bring out a full Republican vote. Kennebec, Penobscot, Waldo, Hancock, Androscoggin, and Sagadahoc, could have given a majority of 6,000 more than they have done, if there had been any pressing need or stimulating danger.

Taken as a whole, the result of this election is in every respect cheering and significant. It will have an encouraging influence on the Republicans of other States. It proclaims in thunder tones to the land, that Maine stands as the Gibraltar of Liberty and the Union, against their common enemies in Washington, South Carolina, or wherever they may be found. It bids the friends of Freedom in Massachusetts march shoulder to shoulder against their mongrel foes, and elect BANKS by a stronger majority. It bids the Democracy of the Empire State to lay aside all minor issues, and hold fast to their former renown. It inspires the freemen of Ohio to march forward to victory under the lead of the able and patriotic CHASE, and it inspires the true men of Pennsylvania to carry the gallant and noble WILMOT gloriously through the contest in which he is now engaged with the myrmidons of Slavery. To the Republicans and friends of Free Labor throughout the Union, Maine, Missouri, and Vermont, send ALL HAIL!

From the New York Commercial Advertiser, Sept. 17.

THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.

Very seldom have we performed a more ungracious task than that devolving upon us today, in connection with a document sent us for publication by certain committees of the American Tract Society. It is entitled "Recent Action of the Committee of the American Tract Society on Slavery," and will be found in another column. We are the more embarrassed in stating our views respecting this very important announcement, because of the high respectability of the names which these documents are attached to it, and because the three acting committees of the Society appear to have been unanimous with respect to the wisdom and the justice of the measure adopted. Every reader of the *Commercial* knows that this paper has long been no party to the attacks recently made upon the American Tract Society; that we have thrown such influence as we possess in its support against any attempts to convert it into an Abolition or Anti-Slavery society, and that we have earnestly advocated moderation and forbearance, and, on the part of the Society, an adherence to its long-established rule in reference to the agitating question of Slavery, in order that it might fulfil the duty specially the object of its institution, the spreading of Scriptural Christianity throughout the whole country. These views, often expressed, we still heartily entertain.

Nor need we inform our readers of the aspect which the controversy between the American Tract Society and its assailants had assumed on the eve of its anniversary meeting in this city in May last. A serious disruption was then threatened. To avert it, concessions were offered by a committee appointed to consider the matter in controversy, which committee was composed of gentlemen of high probity and of warm attachment to the Society. The resolutions proffered were based upon mutual concession; and though we with many others thought that the concession was far less mutual than it professed to be, we heartily concurred in the adopted compromise, hoping that if it did nothing more, it would stay the arrest agitation, and so prepare the way for a more clear and permanent definition of the Society's duties, under the circumstances which had arisen, than it must add, too—because, in this matter, we are constrained to take issue with the committee's present statement—that such concurrence in the so-called compromise was mainly prompted by the understanding, believed at the time to be clear and distinct, that the Society, while restricted as based upon anything about the right or wrong, moral or political, of the institution of Slavery, was empowered and required to inculcate the moral duties which the Christian religion practices incident to the relation of master and slave.

And that this is the duty of the American Tract Society, or of any kindred institution, is so obvious, that one marvels that it could become a matter of doubt or a question for discussion. But still more surprising is it, that the signers of the manifesto under notice could have put any other interpretation upon the resolutions adopted at the last anniversary, or have counted on the acquiescence of opposition, or of distaste for such teaching, would justify them in swerving from that line of action. And here we must enter our protest against the "recent action" of the committee of the American Tract Society on this subject. We do it respectfully; we do it regretfully, and only through a sense of duty. The committee say that "confidence was expressed that the acting committee would, in their action respecting this matter, exercise such wisdom as would promote the usefulness of the Society throughout our whole country"? and because this hypothesis proceed to justify themselves for utterly nullifying the specific instructions which accompanied that expression of confidence, to disregard a resolution emanating from a friendly committee, and which had been in fact accepted by the committee as a rule of action, and their perseverance in which was the ground of the confidence which the Society expressed in anticipation.

The committee assume entirely too much when they claim that an expression of confidence by the Society, that they would act judiciously and with catholicity of spirit, left it optional with them not to act at all if they met with opposition. The Society resolved, and so instructed their committee—in reality, they but echoed the committee's own suggestion—that they did not desire to interfere with Slavery as a political institution; that in fact, and for the surer accomplishment of the Society's object, they were willing to abstain from all allusion to Slavery as a political institution; but that in preaching the Gospel by their tracts, in inculcating upon their fellow-men the obligations of Christianity, and especially in addressing masters, they must point out the duties of masters to their servants, as well as the duties of husbands to their wives, parents to their children, or citizens to their country and its Government; they must reprove inhumanity and impurity as they must "other practical immoralities;" and having thus instructed their committee, and the committee having virtually pledged themselves to act upon those instructions—in what was rendered, if there as well as here, that they were released from—the Society, in acknowledgment of their past services, quite as much as with respect to the future, expressed its confidence that the committee "would exercise such wisdom as would promote the usefulness of the Society through our whole country." But in their "recent action," the committee have not kept faith with the Society, for the publication before us practically ignores the resolution of the Society, and by many conceivable license of interpretation, that is almost incomprehensible, claim that a general expression of confidence in their wisdom authorized them to do so.

What is their own statement, as deliberately prepared and published? At the time of the last anniversary, when this very resolution which the Society at their suggestion adopted, and themselves accepted as their rule of action, the publishing committee had under consideration a treatise so peculiarly adapted to the new line of action, that the resolution of instructions seems to have been prepared with reference to it. It was a treatise on the "Duties of Masters," and consisted of a series of articles written by pious men at the South exclusively, and by the committee was regarded as meeting the terms of that resolution. This collection of treasties the committee decline to publish, although the resolution expressly adopted by the Society, and its accord with that resolution. It is true, that the committee allege, first, that the writer of some of them is now dead, but they do not say that that of necessity prevents the publication of the works of the treatises; and, second, that the writers of the others deem their publications inexpedient, but they do not inform the public how or why those gentlemen thus altered their minds. These allegations, however, have no bearing whatever upon the merits of the case. It is not by any means improbable that the committee, had they desired it, could have overruled the objections of the authors; and it is certain that, if the dead were alive, the authors would have cheerfully provided them with an equally meritorious work of a like tone. But these facts are merely incidentally mentioned by the committee; and they themselves assume the responsibility of respecting the Society's resolution passed at the last anniversary, and of abandoning, because of local opposition, a cardinal principle of the American Tract Society—of withdrawing the very keystone from the arch on which you have to magnificent superstructure of philanthropic and religious operations which the long and successful years of that Society's labors had raised.

We speak advisedly, and will demonstrate the justice of the allegation, though it is an unwelcome task. We assume, and no one will dispute, that the first and only legitimate object of the American Tract Society is to teach religion—the denials it imposes and the blessings it confers—throughout our whole country; to teach, in fact, *the whole of religion throughout the whole of our country*. If this is not its object, and if it does not so aim, through evil report and through good report, its own constitution, and the repeated declarations of its officers and its friends, belie it. Now, it is true in it that in the South a certain class of vices prevail, and a certain class of virtues specially demand cultivation, incidental to the fact that slavery is established there. Every human institution, political or religious, has its sectional country, has its parallel associations. Where Germans largely congregate, the Sabbath is dishonored. In our large cities, intemperance, lewdness, and extravagance, are the prevailing vices. In certain of the Territories, lawlessness and violence stalk hand in hand. In Utah, polygamy is the parent of evils innumerable. Into Utah, into our border States, into our large cities, into the centres of our German population, into our slaveholding States, the American Tract Society is bounden by the obligations of its constitution and of its official declarations, to send colporteurs or tract missionaries, bearing witness *on behalf of the truth* that world-righteousness *against* "the moral evils and practical immoralities" deplored by all evangelical Christians," whether of local or general character.

Do we assume an lots too much in saying this? Not even the Bible Tract Society or of morality and religion will say that we do. And yet, harsh though the allegation may sound, we affirm that the document emanating from these committees, and now under review, teaches practically and unavoidably the reverse of this. Its doctrine is this: there are certain moral duties growing out of the existence of Slavery, and certain moral evils and practical immoralities which occasionally or frequently accompany Slavery, which duties the American Tract Society's publications should inculcate, and which immoralities it should reprove, just as it should, and fearlessly does, exhort to duties and reprove for vices incident to other human institutions or society in the country. The committee admit that this is the Society's duty, and that it is in accordance with its resolution adopted at the last anniversary. Then the committee declare that this duty they decline to perform, and that their publications *shall* inculcate such duties or reprove such vices, because citizens of the Southern States will not bear such teachings or submit to be thus reproved; and with the citizens of the South the Society has always had friendly relations, and from them drawn a large share of its pecuniary support. In other words, that the Society should not, must not, annoy its Southern friends with religious counsels, or offend its Southern supporters by faithful reproofs.

We say nothing of this deference to Southern sentiments, and preference for Southern contributions, for the latter consideration at least is unworthy on either side, but confine our remarks to the fact that the committee set forth a great principle contained in this document. The whole Union, according to this "recent action of the committee," is to be put off with an emasculated tract literature, that a section of the Union may be offended, and its contributions be lost to the Society. Be it remembered, that there is no pretence that the right or wrong of Slavery is brought into question. That point has been wholly and properly conceded to the South, and upon it even this concession recalled on any account. That concession did no violence to, nay, was in accordance with, the spirit of the Society's organization. It sacrificed or impugned no principle.

But this new concession does. The South now demands, and the committees, on their own responsibility, concede, that not a word shall be said in the Society's publications respecting the "moral duties" growing out of its institution—not even half the cases, or the "moral evils and practical immoralities" that frequently accompany that institution." That such is their concession, any reader of the document must admit. If the principle involved in this "recent action" is sound, that at the basis of the Society's organization is unsound. Religious truth cannot be diffused "throughout our whole country," if every section of the country that is wealthy and powerful enough can dictate to the Society what is and what is not to be taught. We do it respectfully; we do it regretfully, and only through a sense of duty. The committees say that "confidence was expressed that the acting committee would, in their action respecting this matter, exercise such wisdom as would promote the usefulness of the Society throughout our whole country"? and because this hypothesis proceed to justify themselves for utterly nullifying the specific instructions which accompanied that expression of confidence, to disregard a resolution emanating from a friendly committee, and which had been in fact accepted by the committee as a rule of action, and their perseverance in which was the ground of the confidence which the Society expressed in anticipation.

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Do we assume an lots too much in saying this? Not even the Bible Tract Society or of morality and religion will say that we do. And yet, harsh though the allegation may sound, we affirm that the document emanating from these committees, and now under review, teaches practically and unavoidably the reverse of this. Its doctrine is this: there are certain moral duties growing out of the existence of Slavery, and certain moral evils and practical immoralities which occasionally or frequently accompany Slavery, which duties the American Tract Society's publications should inculcate, and which immoralities it should reprove, just as it should, and fearlessly does, exhort to duties and reprove for vices incident to other human institutions or society in the country. The committee admit that this is the Society's duty, and that it is in accordance with its resolution adopted at the last anniversary. Then the committee declare that this duty they decline to perform, and that their publications *shall* inculcate such duties or reprove such vices, because citizens of the Southern States will not bear such teachings or submit to be thus reproved; and with the citizens of the South the Society has always had friendly relations, and from them drawn a large share of its pecuniary support. In other words, that the Society should not, must not, annoy its Southern friends with religious counsels, or offend its Southern supporters by faithful reproofs.

We say nothing of this deference to Southern sentiments, and preference for Southern contributions, for the latter consideration at least is unworthy on either side, but confine our remarks to the fact that the committee set forth a great principle contained in this document. The whole Union, according to this "recent action of the committee," is to be put off with an emasculated tract literature, that a section of the Union may be offended, and its contributions be lost to the Society. Be it remembered, that there is no pretence that the right or wrong of Slavery is brought into question. That point has been wholly and properly conceded to the South, upon it even this concession recalled on any account. That concession did no violence to, nay, was in accordance with, the spirit of the Society's organization. It sacrificed or impugned no principle.

But this new concession does. The South now demands, and the committees, on their own responsibility, concede, that not a word shall be said in the Society's publications respecting the "moral duties" growing out of its institution—not even half the cases, or the "moral evils and practical immoralities" that frequently accompany that institution." That such is their concession, any reader of the document must admit. If the principle involved in this "recent action" is sound, that at the basis of the Society's organization is unsound. Religious truth cannot be diffused "throughout our whole country," if every section of the country that is wealthy and powerful enough can dictate to the Society what is and what is not to be taught. We do it respectfully; we do it regretfully, and only through a sense of duty. The committees say that "confidence was expressed that the acting committee would, in their action respecting this matter, exercise such wisdom as would promote the usefulness of the Society throughout our whole country"? and because this hypothesis proceed to justify themselves for utterly nullifying the specific instructions which accompanied that expression of confidence, to disregard a resolution emanating from a friendly committee, and which had been in fact accepted by the committee as a rule of action, and their perseverance in which was the ground of the confidence which the Society expressed in anticipation.

The committee assume entirely too much when they claim that an expression of confidence by the Society, that they would act judiciously and with catholicity of spirit, left it optional with them not to act at all if they met with opposition. The Society resolved, and so instructed their committee—in reality, they but echoed the committee's own suggestion—that they did not desire to interfere with Slavery as a political institution; that in fact, and for the surer accomplishment of the Society's object, they were willing to abstain from all allusion to Slavery as a political institution; but that in preaching the Gospel by their tracts, in inculcating upon their fellow-men the obligations of Christianity, and especially in addressing masters, they must point out the duties of masters to their servants, as well as the duties of husbands to their wives, parents to their children, or citizens to their country and its Government; they must reprove inhumanity and impurity as they must "other practical immoralities;" and having thus instructed their committee, and the committee having virtually pledged themselves to act upon those instructions—in what was rendered, if there as well as here, that they were released from—the Society, in acknowledgment of their past services, quite as much as with respect to the future, expressed its confidence that the committee "would exercise such wisdom as would promote the usefulness of the Society throughout our whole country." But in their "recent action," the committee have not kept faith with the Society, for the publication before us practically ignores the resolution of the Society, and by many conceivable license of interpretation, that is almost incomprehensible, claim that a general expression of confidence in their wisdom authorized them to do so.

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